1724 Connecticut Avenue, NW Washington, DC 20009 (202) 234-5570

Interviews: <u>1007 adults</u>
Dates: <u>September 20-22, 2003</u>

Male 48 Female 52 **[5]**

FINAL

Study #6037 NBC News/Wall Street Journal September 2003

Please note: all results are shown as percentages unless otherwise stated.

The margin of error for 1007 interviews is ±3.1%

Unless otherwise noted by a "+", all previous data shown reflects responses among all adults.

1. All in all, do you think that things in the nation are generally headed in the right direction, or do you feel that things are off on the wrong track? (6036-1)

Right direction Wrong track Mixed (VOL) Not sure	9/03 38 50 8 4	7/03 42 44 9 4	5/03 49 38 8 5	4/03 62 22 13 3	1/03 36 47 14 3	12/02 43 42 13 2	10/02+ 44 42 14	9/02 42 43 12 3	High 9/01 72 11 11 6	Low 7/92+ 14 71 9	[6]
	7/02 40 42 14 4	6/02 52 31 14 3	4/02 53 28 15 4	1/02 62 20 14 4	12/01 70 15 12 3	9/01 72 11 11 6	6/01 43 39 14 4	4/01 47 39 11 3	3/01 52 32 11 5	1/01 45 36 15 4	

⁺ Results shown reflect responses among registered voters

2a. In general, do you approve or disapprove of the job that George W. Bush is doing as president? (6036-2a)

							High	Low	
		1			3/29-				
	9/03	7/03	5/03	<u>4/03</u>	30/03	3/23/03	11/01	6/01	
Approve	49	56	62	71	66	67	88	50	[7]
Disapprove	45	38	31	23	29	28	7	35	
Not sure	6	6	7	6	5	5	5	15	
		3/17/03	2/03 ¹	<u>1/03</u>	12/02	<u>10/02</u> +	9/02	7/02	
		62	61	54	62	63	64	67	
		33	31	40	33	31	30	27	
		5	8	6	5	6	6	6	
		6/02	5/02	4/02	1/02	12/01	11/01		

69	75	74	82	85	88
23	18	20	13	11	7
8	7	6	5	4	5

 $^{^{\}rm 1}$ Overnight poll conducted after Colin Powell's speech to the United Nations. + Results shown reflect responses among registered voters.

(ASK ONLY OF RESPONDENTS WHO SAY THEY APPROVE OR DISAPPROVE IN Q.2a.)

2b. And why do you say that you (approve/disapprove)? (IF "NOT SURE," SAY:) That's understandable, but what is the first reason that comes to mind when you say you (approve/disapprove)? *

Net Approval [8]	%	Net Disapproval [9]	%
Personal qualities/Personal characteristics	46	Iraq/War on Terrorism	58
Iraq/War on Terrorism	35	Economy/Jobs/Tax cuts	40
Economy/Jobs/Tax cuts	19	All other domestic issue mentions	21
All other domestic issue mentions	15	Personal qualities/Personal characteristics	19
All other foreign policy mentions	4	All other foreign policy mentions	11
Ideology	2	Ideology	1
Other	1	Other	3
Don't know/Refused	4	Don't know/Refused	1

^{*} Asked of one-half the respondents (FORM A).

2c. Do you generally approve or disapprove of the job George W. Bush is doing in handling the economy? (6036-2b)

Approve Disapprove Not sure	9/03 43 52 6	7/03 45 48 7	<u>5/03</u> 48 44 8	4/03 49 42 9	1/03 44 49 7	12/02 47 45 8	10/02+ 48 44 8	9/02 48 43 9	[10]
	7/02 49 43 8	6/02 57 34 9	4/02 61 30 9	1/02 63 27 10	12/01 63 25 12	6/01 50 38 12	<u>4/01</u> 51 33 16	3/01 52 27 21	

⁺ Results shown reflect responses among registered voters.

2d. In general, do you approve or disapprove of the job George W. Bush is doing in handling our foreign policy? (6036-2c)

Approve Disapprove Not sure	9/03 47 46 7	7/03 55 39 6	<u>5/03</u> 63 31 6	4/03 70 24 6	<u>1/03</u> 51 42 7	12/02 57 36 7	10/02+ 58 35 7	9/02 55 34 11	[11]
	7/02 62 28 10	6/02 64 28 8	4/02 68 26 6	1/02 81 13 6	12/01 82 12 6	6/01 50 32 18	4/01 63 26 11	3/01 53 20 27	

⁺ Results shown reflect responses among registered voters.

2e. When it comes to dealing with the war on terrorism, do you approve or disapprove of the job George W. Bush is doing? (6036-2d)

	<u>9/03</u>	<u>7/03</u>	<u>1/03</u>	<u>12/02</u>	<u>9/02</u>	
Approve	60	66	64	66	67	[12]
Disapprove	34	28	28	27	26	
Not sure	6	6	8	7	7	
		7/02	<u>6/02</u>	<u>5/02</u>	<u>4/02</u>	
		73	75	75	76	
		22	20	18	19	
		5	5	7	5	

3. In general, do you approve or disapprove of the job Congress is doing? (6036-3)

Approve 39 42 44 42 44 44 40 34 61 22 [13] Disapprove 16 13 15 19 17 16 16 18 11 9	
Approve	
Disapprove	э т
Not sure	۱,
Not sure	
<u>6/02 1/02 12/01 6/01 4/01 3/01 1/01 12/00 10/00</u> +	
43 54 57 47 43 45 48 55 49	
41 29 29 34 33 32 35 30 35	
16 17 14 19 24 23 17 15 16	
9/00+ 7/00+ 6/00+ 4/00+ 3/00+ 1/00 12/99 10/99	
46 46 43 42 43 48 45 42	
41 42 46 44 40 36 42 45	
13 12 11 14 17 16 13 13	
<u>9/99 7/99 6/99 4/99 3/99 1/99 12/98 10/98</u> +	
40 43 40 49 41 50 44 48	
49 41 42 38 45 40 42 39	
11 16 18 13 14 10 14 13	

⁺ Results shown reflect responses among registered voters.

4. Now I'm going to read you the names of several public figures and groups, and I'd like you to rate your feelings toward each one as either very positive, somewhat positive, neutral, somewhat negative, or very negative. If you don't know the name, please just say so.

	Very <u>Positive</u>	Somewhat <u>Positive</u>	<u>Neutral</u>	Somewhat <u>Negative</u>	Very <u>Negative</u>	Don't Know Name/ <u>Not Sure</u>	
George W. Bush							
September 2003	35	17	9	15	23	1	[14]
July 2003	38	21	9	14	17	-	
May 2003	41	22	9	10	17	1	
January 2003	36	20	12	16	16	-	
December 2002	38	24	14	12	12	-	
October 2002+	37	24	11	12	15	1	
September 2002	38	25	14	11	12	-	
July 2002	40	26	11	11	12	-	
June 2002	43	27	11	10	9	-	
April 2002	47	25	13	8	7	-	
January 2002	53	26	10	7	4	-	
December 2001	54	26	9	6	5	-	
June 2001	30	23	16	15	15	1	
April 2001	36	22	15	13	14	-	
March 2001	38	24	14	12	11	1	
High							
December 2001	54	26	9	6	5	-	
Low							
March 2000+	19	26	21	15	17	2	
Wesley Clark							
September 2003	7	11	22	6	6	48	[15]
Howard Dean							
September 2003	3	15	21	10	10	42	[16]
July 2003	5	10	16	5	9	55	
Donald Rumsfeld							
September 2003 *	21	26	15	11	14	13	[17]
July 2003	21	25	15	13	15	12	
May 2003	25	24	14	9	12	15	
June 2002	23	24	19	8	6	20	
December 2001	30	26	16	4	3	21	

^{*} Asked of one-half the respondents (FORM A).

⁺ Results shown reflect responses among registered voters

Q.4 (cont'd)	Very <u>Positive</u>	Somewhat <u>Positive</u>	<u>Neutral</u>	Somewhat <u>Negative</u>	Very <u>Negative</u>	Don't Know Name/ <u>Not Sure</u>	
Alan Greenspan							
September 2003 *	20	34	21	7	3	16	[18]
June 2001	21	34	20	7	4	14	
April 2001	25	30	20	7	2	16	
March 2001	24	31	25	5	3	12	
January 2001	31	25	18	8	3	15	
April 2000+	23	28	22	6	4	17	
December 1998	23	24	23	4	2	24	
Dick Cheney							
September 2003 *	21	25	16	14	18	7	[19]
May 2003	24	23	18	10	14	10	
January 2003	20	27	23	12	13	5	
September 2002	23	27	21	12	12	5	
July 2002	24	28	19	10	13	6	
April 2002	27	29	22	8	10	4	
January 2002	32	30	21	6	5	6	
December 2001	36	27	23	3	6	5	
June 2001	26	22	22	14	11	5	
April 2001	31	21	22	10	9	7	
March 2001	30	26	22	8	6	8	
January 2001	23	26	26	9	7	9	
December 2000	23	26	22	10	11	8	
October 2000+	25	24	26	8	9	8	
High							
February 1991+	33	33	13	2	2	17	
Low							
July 2000+	19	23	26	9	6	17	

^{*} Asked of one-half the respondents (FORM A). + Results shown reflect responses among registered voters

Q.4 (cont'd)	Very <u>Positive</u>	Somewhat <u>Positive</u>	<u>Neutral</u>	Somewhat <u>Negative</u>	Very <u>Negative</u>	Don't Know Name/ <u>Not Sure</u>	
The Republican Party							
September 2003 **	17	26	17	19	18	3	[20]
July 2003	18	30	16	16	16	3	
May 2003	23	26	18	17	13	4	
December 2002	21	26	22	15	14	2	
October 2002+	16	28	24	17	14	1	
September 2002	15	30	26	13	13	3	
July 2002	18	25	22	17	14	4	
June 2002	17	29	23	16	11	4	
January 2002	20	32	24	12	9	3	
December 2001	21	36	18	13	9	3	
June 2001	13	30	21	19	16	1	
March 2001	18	31	21	15	14	1	
January 2001	14	30	25	15	14	2	
December 2000	18	26	23	14	18	1	
High							
December 2001	21	36	18	13	9	3	
Low							
March 1999	1	22	23	19	23	2	
John Ashcroft							
September 2003 **	11	25	20	10	18	17	[21]
December 2001	29	28	15	5	8	15	
March 2001	14	19	25	9	12	21	
January 2001	8	12	26	8	14	32	

^{**} Asked of one-half the respondents (FORM B). + Results shown reflect responses among registered voters

Q.4 (cont'd)	Very <u>Positive</u>	Somewhat <u>Positive</u>	<u>Neutral</u>	Somewhat <u>Negative</u>	Very <u>Negative</u>	Don't Know Name/ <u>Not Sure</u>	
The Democratic Party							
September 2003 **	11	29	22	19	16	3	[22]
July 2003	11	25	25	20	16	3	
May 2003	11	25	28	18	15	3	
December 2002	13	27	27	16	15	2	
October 2002+	12	27	27	20	12	2	
September 2002	12	26	30	17	12	3	
July 2002	10	29	25	21	13	2	
June 2002	10	27	27	18	14	4	
January 2002	16	33	23	15	11	2	
December 2001	18	30	26	14	9	3	
June 2001	15	31	24	17	11	2	
March 2001	17	27	24	16	14	2	
January 2001	21	26	22	16	13	2	
December 2000	23	23	18	16	18	2	
High							
January 2000	20	30	23	15	10	2	
Low							
December 1994	10	23	25	24	16	2	

If President Bush runs for re-election in 2004, do you think you will probably vote for President Bush or 5a. probably vote for the Democratic candidate? (6036-5a)

	9/03	7/03	<u>5/03</u>	4/03	1/03	12/02	<u>10/02</u> +	
Probably vote for President Bush	42	45	47	52	41	42	45	[23]
Probably vote for Democratic candidate	40	36	32	24	34	28	31	
Vote for another party's candidate (VOL)	2	3	2	4	3	4	3	
Depends on who opponent is (VOL)	9	10	12	14	16	20	17	
Not sure	7	7	7	6	6	6	4	

⁺ Results shown reflect responses among registered voters.

If the next election for president were held today, and George W. Bush were running as the Republican 5b. candidate and Howard Dean were the Democratic candidate, for whom would you vote? (6036-5b)

	9/03	<u>7/03</u>	
George W. Bush	48	52	[24]
Howard Dean	35	30	
Depends (VOL)	3	3	
Neither/other (VOL)	7	7	
Not sure	8	8	

^{**} Asked of one-half the respondents (FORM B). + Results shown reflect responses among registered voters

5c. If the next election for president were held today, and George W. Bush were running as the Republican candidate and Joe Lieberman were the Democratic candidate, for whom would you vote? (6036-5c)

	<u>9/03</u> *	<u>7/03</u>	<u>5/03</u>	<u> 1/03</u>	
George W. Bush	52	51	53	50	[25]
Joe Lieberman	35	32	32	34	
Depends (VOL)	2	2	3	3	
Neither/other (VOL)	7	6	5	5	
Not sure	4	8	7	8	

^{*} Asked of one-half the respondents (FORM A).

5d. If the next election for president were held today, and George W. Bush were running as the Republican candidate and Wesley Clark were the Democratic candidate, for whom would you vote? **

George W. Bush	45	[26]
Wesley Clark	38	
Depends (VOL)	2	
Neither/other (VOL)	5	
Not sure	11	

^{**} Asked of one-half the respondents (FORM B).

Generally speaking, do you think of yourself as a Democrat, a Republican, an independent, or something else? (IF "DEMOCRAT" OR "REPUBLICAN," ASK:) Would you call yourself a strong (Democrat/Republican) or not a very strong (Democrat/Republican)? (IF "NOT SURE," CODE AS "NOT VERY STRONG DEMOCRAT/REPUBLICAN." IF "INDEPENDENT," ASK:) Do you think of yourself as closer to the Democratic Party, closer to the Republican Party, or do you think of yourself as strictly independent? (6036-7a)

Strong Democrat	19		[27]
Not very strong Democrat	9	Skip to Q.7	
Independent/lean Democrat	10		
Strictly independent	17		
Independent/lean Republican	10		
Not very strong Republican	8	CONTINUE	
Strong Republican	17		
Other	6		
Not sure/nothing	3		

(ASK ONLY OF RESPONDENTS WHO DO NOT SAY THEY ARE A DEMOCRAT IN Q.6a.)

6b. If there were a presidential primary election in your state, would you vote in the Democratic primary, the Republican primary, or would you wait to vote in the general election? (6035-6b)

	<u>9/03</u>		<u>5/03</u>	<u>4/03</u>	<u>1/03</u>	<u>12/02</u>	<u>10/02</u> +	
Vote in the Democratic primary	10	CONTINUE	9	6	8	6	8	[28]
Vote in the Republican primary	37		39	41	43	43	43	
Wait until the general election	44	Skip to Q.9	46	44	46	43	42	
Neither/other (VOL)	4		2	3	1	4	3	
Not sure	4		4	6	2	4	4	

⁺ Results shown reflect responses among registered voters

(ASK ONLY OF RESPONDENTS WHO SAY THEY ARE A DEMOCRAT IN Q.6a OR THAT THEY WOULD VOTE IN THE DEMOCRATIC PRIMARY IN Q.6b.)

7. Let me mention some people who might seek the Democratic nomination for president in 2004. If the next Democratic primary for president were being held today, for which one of the following candidates would you vote? (IF "NOT SURE," ASK:) Well, which way do you lean? (6036-8b)

	9/03	<u>7/03</u>	<u>5/03</u>	<u>4/03</u>	<u>1/03</u>	<u>12/02</u>	
Carol Moseley Braun	1	5	4	4	NA	NA	[29]
Wesley Clark	16	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	
Howard Dean	17	12	3	3	3	1	
John Edwards	4	4	5	4	7	3	
Richard Gephardt	8	11	16	14	17	14	
Bob Graham	2	4	4	3	6	NA	
John Kerry	11	14	17	13	14	16	
Dennis Kucinich	2	2	1	NA	NA	NA	
Joe Lieberman	16	25	21	19	25	20	
Al Sharpton	3	3	2	2	2	4	
None (VOL) ¹	4	7	6	14	5		
Other (VOL)	1	-	1	1	1	6	
Not sure	14	14	21	23	20	22	

¹ In December 2002, "None (VOL)" and "Other (VOL)" were one item

(ASK ONLY OF RESPONDENTS WHO SAY THEY ARE A DEMOCRAT IN Q.6a.)

8. On a scale from 1 to 5, where a "5" means "very familiar" and a "1" means "not at all familiar," how familiar would you say you are with the economic plans being proposed by the various Democratic presidential candidates?

5, very familiar	7	[30]
4	8	
3	32	
2	16	
1, not at all familiar	30	
Cannot rate/don't know		

9. A Democratic presidential candidate who has just announced his candidacy is General Wesley Clark. Let me read you a little bit about him. General Clark, age 58, grew up in Arkansas, is a graduate of West Point, and was a Rhodes Scholar. He is a four-star general who fought in Vietnam and served as the NATO Supreme Allied Commander from 1997 to 2000. He has never held elective office. Please tell me how personally appealing he is as a candidate to you – very appealing, fairly appealing, only somewhat appealing, not that appealing, or not at all appealing?

Very appealing	15	[31]
Fairly appealing	18	
Only somewhat appealing	34	
Not that appealing	10	
Not at all appealing	18	
Not sure	5	

10a-c. Now I'm going to mention a few policy issues, and for each one, please tell me whether you think that President Bush **a**) has the right policy and should move ahead; **b**) has the right policy but it just needs some minor adjustments; **c**) has a questionable policy that needs major adjustments; or **d**) has the wrong policy, and it needs to be changed.

[Rig	ht Policy				
	Move <u>Ahead</u>	But Needs Minor Adjustments	Questionable Policy And Needs Major Adjustments	Wrong Policy, Needs To <u>Be Changed</u>	Not <u>Sure</u>	
Jobs and the economy	15	28	23	30	4	[33]
Iraq	25	25	19	28	4	[34]
Tax policy	23	26	18	28	5	[35]

11. Which one or two of the following do you most admire about President Bush? His...(READ LIST. ACCEPT UP TO TWO RESPONSES.)

Policies on domestic issues	7	[36]
Economic and tax policies	7	>
Handling of the situation in Iraq	22	
Personal character and values	33	
Leadership skills	22	
Personality and style	13	
Not sure	28	

12. And which one or two of the following do you least admire about President Bush? His... (READ LIST. ACCEPT UP TO TWO RESPONSES.)

Policies on domestic issues	20	[37]
Economic and tax policies	34	>
Handling of the situation in Iraq	29	
Personal character and values	5	
Leadership skills	8	
Personality and style	11	
Not sure	20	

13a-c. Now I would like to mention a number of policy issues facing the country, and for each one, please tell me whom you would prefer to have set the country's policy in that particular area--President Bush and the Republicans or the Democrats in Congress.*

	President Bush And The <u>Republicans</u>	Democrats In Congress	Not <u>Sure</u>	
Dealing with energy policy	40	49	11	[39]
The budget deficit	42	48	9	[40]
Dealing with international trade	46	39	15	[41]

^{*} Asked of one-half the respondents (FORM A).

Now I'd like to turn to foreign policy. ...

14. Do you think that the United States should or should not have taken military action to remove Saddam Hussein from power in Iraq? (6036-11)

Should have taken military action Should not have taken military action Not sure	9/03 64 33 4	7/03 69 27 5	5/03 71 24 5	4/03 76 17 7	3/17/03 ¹ 65 30 5	2/03 ² 60 27 13	[42]
		<u>1/03</u>	12/02	<u>10/02</u> +	9/02	<u>4/02</u> ³	
		56	59	60	58	57	
		36	30	31	30	28	
		8	11	9	12	8	

 $^{^1\!\}text{On March 17, 2003, the question was phrased, "Do you think that the United States should or should not take..."$

15. I'm going to mention a number of words that people might use to describe their feelings about the war in Iraq. Please tell me which TWO or THREE best describe your feelings. (6034-6c)

	9/03	<u>4/03</u>	
Uninterested	4	1	[43]
Worried	37	29	>
Anxious	26	23	
Hopeful	36	45	
Proud	30	49	
Disappointed	29	10	
Joyful	3	6	
Patriotic	38	50	
None (VOL)	-	1	
Not sure	2	-	

² Overnight poll conducted after Colin Powell's speech to the United Nations.

³ In April 2002, the question was phrased, "Do you think that the United States should or should not take military action against Iraq and Saddam Hussein?"

⁺ Results shown reflect responses among registered voters.

16a-e. Now I'm going to read you some goals that the United States had in the war with Iraq. For each, please tell me whether you think that the United States has been successful in that goal.

	<u>Successful</u>	Not <u>Successful</u>	Not <u>Sure</u>	
Minimizing American soldiers' casualties				
September 2003 **	48	45	7	[45]
July 2003	57	37	7	
Making the United States more secure				
September 2003 **	52	43	5	[46]
July 2003	59	33	8	
April 2003	62	30	8	
** Asked of one-half the respondents (FORM B).				
Forming a new, stable Iraqi government				
September 2003 **	23	63	13	[47]
July 2003	26	60	14	
Keeping the cost of the war under control				
September 2003 **	25	66	8	[48]
July 2003	35	50	16	
Finding evidence of weapons of mass destruction				
September 2003 **	18	75	7	[49]
July 2003	22	70	8	
April 2003	36	53	11	

^{**} Asked of one-half the respondents (FORM B).

17. When it comes to the strength of Iraqi armed opposition, do you think that the Bush administration did or did not underestimate the situation? (6036-14)

	9/03	7/03	
Did underestimate the situation	53	44	[50]
Did not underestimate the situation	42	53	
Not sure	4	4	

18. Do you think that the Bush administration does or does not have a clear plan for handling the situation in Iraq?

Does have clear plan	43	[51]
Does not have clear plan	51	
Not sure	6	

19. Do you think that the United States will or will not find weapons of mass destruction in Iraq? (6036-17)

	<u>9/03</u>	<u>7/03</u>	<u>5/03</u>	
Will find weapons of mass destruction	37	46	60	[52]
Will not find weapons of mass	50	41	32	
destruction				
Depends/Not sure	13	13	9	

20. Do you think it will or will not be possible to establish a stable democratic government in Iraq? (6036-20)

	<u>9/03</u>	<u>7/03</u>	<u>5/03</u>	
Possible to have stable democratic government	49	57	54	[53]
Not possible to have stable democratic government	40	28	37	
Depends/Not sure (VOL)	11	15	9	

21. As you may know, President Bush has requested that Congress approve 87 billion dollars in federal spending in an effort to improve the effectiveness of military operations in Iraq and Afghanistan and to help establish stable, democratic governments there. The president's request for 87 billion dollars comes in addition to the 79 billion dollars that Congress approved in April for military operations in Iraq. Do you favor or oppose the president's request for additional spending?

Favor President Bush's request	41	CONTINUE	[54]
Oppose President Bush's request	51		
Some of both (VOL)	4	Skip to Q.23	
Not sure	3		

(ASK ONLY OF RESPONDENTS WHO SAY THEY FAVOR PRESIDENT BUSH'S REQUEST IN Q.21.)

22a. Which of the following reasons best describes why you favor President Bush's request for extra money for Iraq and Afghanistan? (IF RESPONDENT SAYS "ALL," ASK:) Well, if you had to choose just one reason, which would it be?

America has important responsibilities toward the people of Iraq and Afghanistan, and we must try to fulfill	0.5	
them	25	[55]
Our troops are having trouble in Iraq and Afghanistan,		
and we should support them	21	
Iraq and Afghanistan are key fronts in the war on terror,		
where we can fight terrorists directly and keep them		
away from American soil	24	
The president is the commander-in-chief, and we		
should give his requests the benefit of the doubt when		
we have troops in the field	8	
•	0	
This 87 billion dollar request is a small price to pay		
considering the problems in Iraq and Afghanistan	10	
All of the above (VOL)	11	
Not sure	1	

(ASK ONLY OF RESPONDENTS WHO SAY THEY OPPOSE PRESIDENT BUSH'S REQUEST IN Q.21.)

Which of the following reasons best describes why you oppose President Bush's request for extra money for Iraq and Afghanistan? (IF RESPONDENT SAYS "ALL," ASK:) Well, if you had to choose just one reason, which would it be?

President Bush is putting the needs of Iraq and Afghanistan ahead of the needs of Americans		
here at home	41	[56]
New spending would just increase the workload of our		
troops overseas when we should be easing their		
burdens and bringing them home	13	
Spending in Iraq and Afghanistan distracts from the war		
on terror and the hunt for Osama bin Laden	3	
President Bush has misjudged the costs of these wars,		
and Congress shouldn't give him a blank check to wage		
them	16	
Even if more money is needed in Iraq and Afghanistan,		
87 billion dollars is more spending than is necessary	13	
All of the above (VOL)	10	
Not sure	4	

23. When it comes to how long American troops should stay in Iraq, which comes closer to your view? (6036-24)

Statement A: American troops should be withdrawn from Iraq now or as soon as possible.

Statement B: American troops should be withdrawn from Iraq according to a specified timetable and leave within the next 18 months regardless of the situation at that time.

Statement C: American troops should stay as long as necessary to complete the process, even if it takes as long as five years.

	<u>9/03</u>	<u>7/03</u>	
Statement A/As soon as possible	21	17	[57]
Statement B/According to specified timetable,			
but within 18 months	26	23	
Statement C /As long as necessary, even if five years	50	58	
Not sure	2	3	

24. Please tell me which comes closer to your point of view about the role of the United States in Iraq. (6034-13a)

Statement A: The United States should allow the United Nations to play the major role in rebuilding Iraq with U.S. assistance.

OR

Statement B: The United States should play the major role in rebuilding Iraq with some assistance from other countries.

	<u>9/03</u>	<u>4/03</u> 1	
Statement A/UN should play major role	54	41	[58]
Statement B/U.S. should play major role	42	54	
Depends (VOL)	2	2	
Don't know/not sure	2	3	

¹In April 2003, the question was phrased, "Please tell me which comes closer to your point of view once the United States completes military action in Iraq."

25. Do you think that capturing or killing Osama bin Laden is necessary to successfully conclude the war on terrorism, or not? (6029-19)

	<u>9/03</u> *	<u>12/02</u>	9/02	<u>6/02</u> 1	<u>4/02</u>	<u>1/02</u>	
Capturing or killing is necessary	48	41	33	41	49	44	[59]
Capturing or killing is NOT necessary	45	54	62	54	46	52	
Depends (VOL)	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	
Not sure	8	5	5	5	5	4	

^{*} Asked of one-half the respondents (FORM A).

26. As you may know, in the past year the Bush administration has taken a more active role in trying to achieve peace in the Middle East. In general, do you think the United States should be involved in trying to get Israel and the Arab nations to reach a peace agreement, or should the United States let Israel and the Arab nations deal with this themselves? (6025-19)

	9/03**	6/02 ¹	<u>4/02</u>	12/91 ²	
United States should be involved	56	55	61	55	[60]
United States should let Israel and the					
Arab nations deal with this	37	40	34	40	
Not sure	7	5	5	5	

^{**} Asked of one-half the respondents (FORM B).

Turning to the economy . . .

27. Over the past twelve months, do you think that the nation's economy has gotten better, gotten worse, or stayed about the same? (6036-30)

Economy has gotten better Economy has gotten worse Economy has stayed about the same. Not sure	9/03 27 41 30 2	7/03 23 42 34 1	5/03 18 44 36 1	12/01 6 65 28 1	4/01 7 57 35 1	3/01 ¹ 17 44 38 1	3/92 6 73 20 1	1/92 2 78 19 1	[61]
	<u>12/91</u> 3	<u>10/91</u> 6	<u>9/91</u> 8	<u>7/91</u> 9	<u>6/91</u> 11	<u>5/91</u> 8	<u>12/90</u> 3	<u>10/90</u> 3	
	74	67	57	64	54	64	73	72	
	22	26	33	26	35	27	23	24	
	1	1	2	1	-	1	1	1	
	<u>9/90</u>	<u>7/90</u>	<u>5/90</u>	<u>4/90</u>	<u>3/90</u>	<u>1/90</u>	11/89	<u>9/89</u>	
	6	11	11	12	12	12	15	18	
	57	37	36	30	30	29	34	23	
	35	51	52	56	56	57	49	57	
	2	1	1	2	2	2	2	2	

¹ Prior to April 2001, the question was phrased, "Over the past year..."

¹ Prior to September 2002, the question was phrased, "...to successfully conclude the campaign in Afghanistan."

¹Prior to September 2003, the question was phrased, "As you may know, in recent weeks the Bush administration..."

²In December 1991, the question was phrased, "As you may know, the United States has been involved in organizing the peace talks between Israel and the Arab nations."

During the next twelve months, do you think that the nation's economy will get better, get worse, or stay about the same? (6036-31)28.

Economy will get better Economy will get worse Economy will stay about the same Not sure	9/03 44 19 33 4	7/03 45 16 34 4	5/03 49 16 32 3	1/03 35 25 37 3	12/02 40 20 35 5	10/02+ 41 20 34 5	9/02 39 18 39 4	7/02 41 20 37 2	[62]
		4/02 50 13 32 5	12/01 50 15 32 3	4/01 36 25 34 5	3/01 ¹ 28 29 37 6	10/98+ 17 24 54 5	9/98 19 22 53 6	4/97 19 22 57 2	
		1/96 21 21 52 6	7/95 20 21 54 5	4/95 24 23 50 3	12/94 31 17 46 6	10/94 31 24 40 5	9/94 28 24 44 4	6/94 28 17 52 3	
		5/94 27 21 49 3 6/93 23 27 47 3	3/94 29 16 52 3 4/93 33 21 44 2	1/94 44 16 36 4 3/93 39 15 43 3	12/93 43 19 34 4 1/93 50 9 39 2	10/93 21 27 50 2 12/92 53 10 35 2	9/93 23 24 51 2 5/92 32 20 45 3	7/93 20 29 48 3 9/91 31 24 40 5	

¹Prior to April 2001, the question was phrased, "During the next year..." + Results shown reflect responses among registered voters.

29. I'd like to read you a list of economic issues. As of right now, which one do you feel is the most important economic issue facing the country? (IF "ALL," ASK:) Well, if you had to choose just one, which would it be? (6036 35)

	9/03	<u>7/03</u>	<u>7/02</u>	<u>4/01</u>	<u>3/01</u>	<u>1/01</u>	<u>6/94</u>	<u>5/94</u>	<u>3/94</u>	<u>1/94</u>	<u>12/93</u>	
Inflation	4	5	6	10	8	8	6	8	6	5	6	[63]
Unemployment	48	41	25	13	11	10	35	35	33	37	40	
Energy prices	7	7	6	38	35	26	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	
Interest rates	1	2	3	5	5	6	5	4	2	2	2	
The federal budget 1	13	14	11	9	9	18	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	
Federal taxes	6	7	8	11	14	11	11	12	10	8	11	
The stock market ²	5	8	28	NA								
All equally important (VOL)	14	15	11	7	10	12	4	6	5	5	7	
None (VOL)	-	-	1	-	1	-	-	-	-	1	-	
Not sure	2	2	1	1	1	2	1	2	2	2	2	

¹ Prior to March 2001, the item was phrased, "Keeping the federal budget balanced."

Q.29 (cont'd)

	<u>10/93</u>	9/93	7/93	<u>6/93</u>	<u>4/93</u>	<u>3/93</u>	<u>1/93</u>	<u>12/92</u>	<u>5/92</u>	<u>9/91</u>
Inflation	5	8	8	6	4	7	7	6	7	11
Unemployment	43	40	37	40	44	44	44	46	46	37
Energy prices	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
Interest rates	3	2	2	2	2	2	2	3	2	3
The federal budget 1	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
Federal taxes	12	11	10	11	9	7	5	5	5	7
The stock market ²	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
All equally important (VOL)	4	4	4	4	5	3	5	5	8	10
None (VOL)	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Not sure	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	3

¹ Prior to March 2001, the item was phrased, "Keeping the federal budget balanced."

30. Please tell me whether the following statement applies to you personally: "I have at least five thousand dollars invested in mutual funds or stocks." (6036-37)

Applies Does not apply Not sure	<u>9/03</u> 47 49 4	CONTINUE Skip to Q.32	7/03 50 46 3	1/03 54 44 2	12/02 52 46 2	10/02+ 55 43 2	9/02 55 43 2	7/02 53 44 3	[64]
			<u>6/02</u> 49 47	<u>4/02</u> 49 49	<u>12/01</u> 49 49	<u>4/01</u> 52 46	<u>3/01</u> 49 49	<u>1/01</u> 51 45	
			4	2	2	2	2	4	

⁺Results shown reflect responses among registered voters.

² Prior to July 2002, the item was phrased, "The decline in the stock market"

² Prior to July 2002, the item was phrased, "The decline in the stock market>"

(ASK ONLY OF RESPONDENTS WHO SAY THEY HAVE AT LEAST \$5,000 INVESTED IN Q.30.)

31. At this time, are you confident or not that confident about investing in the stock market? (6036-38)

	<u>9/03</u>	<u>7/03</u>	<u>1/03</u>	<u>12/02</u>	<u>10/02</u> +	9/02	<u>7/02</u>	
Confident	49	42	39	36	31	32	31	[65]
Not that confident	47	54	57	60	67	64	65	
Not sure	4	4	4	4	2	4	4	

⁺Results shown reflect responses among registered voters.

32. What do you think is the greatest cause of the recession and economic downturn that we have been experiencing? (6028-24a)

	<u>9/03</u> **	<u>10/02</u>	
The effects of the September eleventh attacks and the war on terrorism	22	34	[66]
The normal business cycle	15	16	
The policies of the Bush administration	25	12	
The policies of the Clinton administration	9	12	
The policies of Alan Greenspan and the Federal			
Reserve	1	3	
The war with Iraq¹	6	3	
The policies of the Democrats in Congress	6	1	
Combination/depends/all equally important (VOL)	8	14	
None (VOL)	3	2	
Not sure	4	3	

^{**} Asked of one-half the respondents (FORM B).

33. How effective do you think the Bush administration's economic plan has been in helping strengthen the economy during the past two-and-a-half years – very effective, somewhat effective, only a little effective, or ineffective? (6036-40)

	<u>9/03</u>	<u>7/03</u>	
Very effective	8	6	[67]
Somewhat effective	32	32	
Only a little effective	24	28	
Ineffective	33	31	
Had mixed effects (VOL)	1	1	
Not sure	2	2	

As you may know, some people have proposed canceling some or all of the tax cuts President Bush and Congress have approved during the past few years. Which statement comes closer to your view: Canceling at least some of the recent tax cuts makes sense in order to reduce the federal budget deficit and to provide more money for federal spending on items like health care, OR canceling some of the recent tax cuts is a bad idea because it would increase taxes and harm the economy?

Canceling tax cuts makes sense	44	[68]
Canceling tax cuts is a bad idea	45	
Depends/Some of both (VOL)	4	
Not sure	7	

¹In October 2002, item was phrased, "The threat of war with Iraq."

35. Which do you think should be a greater priority for the President and Congress this year--stimulating the economy or controlling the federal budget deficit? (6036-41)

	<u>9/03</u>	<u>7/03</u>	<u>4/03</u>	<u>1/03</u>	<u>12/02</u>	
Stimulating the economy	61	60	72	67	56	[69]
Controlling the federal budget deficit	33	35	22	29	24	
Some of both (VOL)	NA	NA	NA	NA	19	
Not sure	6	5	6	4	1	

36. In which of the following ways would you like the president and Congress to reduce the federal budget deficit? (IF "ALL," ASK:) Well, if you had to choose just one, which would it be?

By canceling the recent tax cuts for upper-income		
Americans	45	[70]
By not creating a prescription drug benefit for		
Medicare recipients	9	
By reducing spending on the war on terrorism	19	
By reducing spending on education, health care,		
or the environment	7	
All of the above (VOL)	4	
None of the above/Other (VOL)	10	
Not sure	6	

37. Do you think that federal government spending on Iraq would help the U.S. economy, hurt the U.S. economy, or have no real effect on the U.S. economy? (IF "HELP" OR "HURT," ASK:) Would you say that it would (help/hurt) the U.S. economy somewhat, or would you say it would (help/hurt) the U.S. economy a great deal? (IF "NOT SURE," CODE AS "SOMEWHAT.")

Spending on Iraq would help the economy a great deal	9	[71]
Spending on Iraq would help the economy somewhat	13	
Spending on Iraq would have no real effect on the U.S.		
economy	23	
Spending on Iraq would hurt the economy somewhat	27	
Spending on Iraq would hurt the economy a great deal	21	
Depends (VOL)	2	
Not sure/nothing	6	

38. If Congress approves President Bush's request to spend 87 billion dollars in federal money in Iraq and Afghanistan, in which of the following ways would you prefer that Congress pay for it? (IF "ALL," ASK:) Well, if you had to choose just one, which would it be?

Through borrowing by the federal government By canceling the recent tax cuts for upper-income	12	[72]
Americans	56	
By not creating a prescription drug benefit for	_	
Medicare patients	7	
or the environment	6	
All of the above (VOL)	2	
None of the above/Other (VOL)	9	
Not sure	8	

I'd like to turn briefly now to health care policy and a couple of other subjects . . .

39. As you may know, Congress is now debating a proposal to have Medicare pay for part of senior citizens' prescription drug costs, while also reducing Medicare's long-term financial problems. Those who favor the proposal say it has the advantage of providing immediate relief to many seniors who are having to deal with the increasingly high cost of prescription drugs. Those who oppose the proposal say that it has the disadvantage of substantially expanding Medicare spending while still leaving many seniors paying a large share of their prescription drug costs. Do you think that the advantages outweigh the disadvantages of this proposal, or do you think that the disadvantages outweigh the advantages?

Advantages outweigh the disadvantages	43	[73]
Disadvantages outweigh the advantages	37	
Depends/Congress should pass only part of the bill (VOL).	3	
Not sure	17	

40. Are you currently covered by Medicare? (IF "NO" OR "NOT SURE," CONTINUE TO Q.41. IF "YES," ASK:) From what you have heard, would the prescription drug proposal being debated in Congress help you, hurt you, or not make much difference either way?

Yes, Covered By Medicare		[74]
Proposal would help	34	
Proposal would hurt	16	
Proposal would not make much difference	43	
Not Sure	7	

41. Which one of the following statements best describes your personal health insurance situation?

My health insurance covers the cost of all	12	
prescription drugs		[75]
My health insurance covers the cost of		
prescription drugs AFTER my required co-pay	65	
My health insurance does not cover the cost of		
any prescription drugs	10	
I do not have any health insurance coverage	10	
Not sure	3	

42. As you may know, about ten years ago Congress passed NAFTA, the free trade agreement with Mexico and Canada. So far, would you say that NAFTA has had more of a positive impact on the nation's economy, more of a negative impact on the nation's economy, or hasn't it had much of an impact? (4082-25a)

	<u>9/03</u>	<u>9/97</u> 1	
More of a positive impact	18	23	[76]
More of a negative impact	35	29	
Hasn't had much of an impact	27	32	
Both equal (VOL)	1	1	
Not sure	19	15	

¹In September 1997, the question was phrased, "As you may know, about four years ago Congress passed NAFTA"

43. I am going to read you two statements, and I'd like you to tell me which one you feel comes closer to your view.

Statement A: The United States needs to focus on keeping American jobs for American workers. Each time an American corporation agrees to send work outside the country, the company also gives away jobs. In the end, even if some new business is created for American exporters, free trade is not worth it because local jobs are lost.

Statement B: Today large companies that intend to sell their products to worldwide customers must also operate worldwide. Just as American companies build plants in foreign countries where they sell their products, foreign companies build plants in the United States so they can sell their products here. In the end, free trade is worth it because foreign companies and our exports create jobs here.

Statement A/keep American jobs	54	[77]
Statement B /operate in the worldwide market	35	
Some of both (VOL)	4	
Not sure	7	

44. A proposal has been made that would allow people to put a portion of their Social Security payroll taxes into personal retirement accounts that would be invested in stocks and bonds. Some people think that individuals would have more money for retirement if they were allowed to invest and manage some of their Social Security payroll taxes themselves. Others think that it is too risky and could leave some people without adequate money for retirement if the stock market were to decline in value significantly. Do you favor or oppose this proposal? (6026-13)

	9/03**	<u>7/02</u>	12/01	<u>3/99</u>	<u> 10/98</u> +	<u>4/98</u>	
Favor	43	41	46	44	43	52	[78]
Oppose	50	55	48	51	52	41	
Not sure	7	4	6	5	5	7	

^{**} Asked of one-half the respondents (FORM B).

FACTUALS: Now I'm going to ask you a few questions for statistical purposes only.

F1. Are you currently registered to vote in the precinct or election district where you live now, or haven't you had a chance to register yet?

Yes, registered	87	[79]
No, not registered	12	
Not sure	1	

⁺ Results shown reflect responses among registered voters

F2. Are you currently employed?

(IF CURRENTLY EMPLOYED:) What type of work do you do?

(IF NOT CURRENTLY EMPLOYED:) Are you a student, a homemaker, retired, or unemployed and looking for work?

<u>Currently Employed</u>		
Professional/ manager	21	[80]
White-collar worker	25	
Blue-collar worker	15	
Not Currently Employed		
Student	3	
Homemaker	5	
Retired	20	
Unemployed, looking for work	5	
Other	3	
Not sure	1	

F3. Did you happen to vote in the 2000 presidential election? (IF "YES," ASK:) For whom did you vote-George W. Bush, the Republican, Al Gore, the Democrat, Ralph Nader, the Green Party candidate, or Pat Buchanan, the Reform Party candidate?

Yes, Voted		
Voted for George W. Bush	43	[81]
Voted for Al Gore	32	
Voted for Ralph Nader	3	
Voted for Pat Buchanan	-	
Voted for other candidate (VOL)	-	
Not sure who voted for (VOL)	1	
No, Did Not Vote	15	
No, was too young to vote (VOL)	1	
Not Sure/Refused	4	

F4. How old are you? (IF "REFUSED," ASK:) Well, would you tell me which age group you belong to?

18-24	10	50-54	11	[82]
25-29	8	55-59	10	
30-34	7	60-64	6	
35-39	8	65-69	6	
40-44	12	70-74	5	
45-49	11	75 and over	6	
		Refused	2	

F5. What is the last grade that you completed in school?

Grade school	1	[83]
Some high school	5	
High school graduate	23	
Some college, no degree	18	
Vocational training/2-year college	10	
4-year college/bachelor's degree	23	
Some postgraduate work, no degree	3	
2 or 3 years' postgraduate work/master's degree	12	
Doctoral/law degree	3	
Not sure/refused	1	

F6.	Thinking about your conservative?	general app	oroach t	o issues,	do you	consider	yourself	to be	liberal,	moderate	, or
		Liberal				21	[84]				
		Moderate				38	[]				
		Conservativ				37					
		Not sure	-			5					
		Not sule				3					
F7.	Are you currently sing	gle and neve	r married	d, married	l, separa	ted, widov	ved, or di	vorced	l?		
		Single				20	[85]				
		Married				58					
		Separated				2					
		Widowed				7					
		Divorced				12					
		Other (VO				1					
		Not sure/re				1					
		rvot sare/rv	Jiaoca			_					
F8a.	In what religion were	you brought	up?								
	Protestan	t			27	CONT	INUE	[86]			
	Catholic				29						
	Jewish				3	Skip to	O.F8c				
	Muslim				-	•	•				
					33						
					4	CONT	INUF				
		refused			4	33					
(ASK O	NLY OF RESPONDEN	ITS WHO SA	AV PROT	FSTANT	OTHER	NONE (OR NOT	SURF	IN O E	Ra I	
F8b.	Would you describe describe yourself that	yourself as									not
	Fu	ındamentalis	st/evange	elical		20	[87]				
		either fundar									
		Not sure			•						
		on-Protestan				_					
F8c.	How often do you atte	end services	at a chu	rch, syna	gogue, d	or other pla	ace of wo	rship?			
		Never				17	[88]				
		Once a yea				7	r 1				
		A few times				14					
		Once a mor	-			7					
		About twice				10					
		Once a wee				40					
		Not sure				40					
		INUL SUIE				4					

F9.	Are you a member of a labor union? (IF "NO," ASK:) Is a labor union?	inyone (else in this	household a member of a
	Labor union member	12	[89]	
	Labor union household	5		
	Non-union household	81		
	Not sure	3		
F10a.	Are you from a Hispanic or Spanish-speaking background?			
	Yes, Hispanic	7	[90]	
	No, not Hispanic	90		
	Not sure/refused	3		
F10b.	What is your racewhite, black, Asian, or something else?			
	White	76	[91]	
	Black	11		
	Asian	1		
	Other	5		
	Hispanic (VOL)	4		
	Not sure/refused	2		
F11.	If you added together the yearly income of all the members	of you	r family wh	no were living at home last
Г11.	year, would the total be less than ten thousand dollars, between			
	dollars, between twenty thousand dollars and thirty thousand			
	forty thousand dollars, between forty thousand dollars and			
	dollars and seventy-five thousand dollars, between seven			
	thousand dollars, or would the total be more than that?	,		

Less than \$10,000.....

Between \$10,000 and \$20,000..... Between \$20,000 and \$30,000.....

Between \$30,000 and \$40,000.....

Between \$40,000 and \$50,000.....

Between \$50,000 and \$75,000.....

Between \$75,000 and \$100,000......

More than \$100,000.....

Not sure/refused.....

[92]

4 9

11

11

10

17

12

12

13